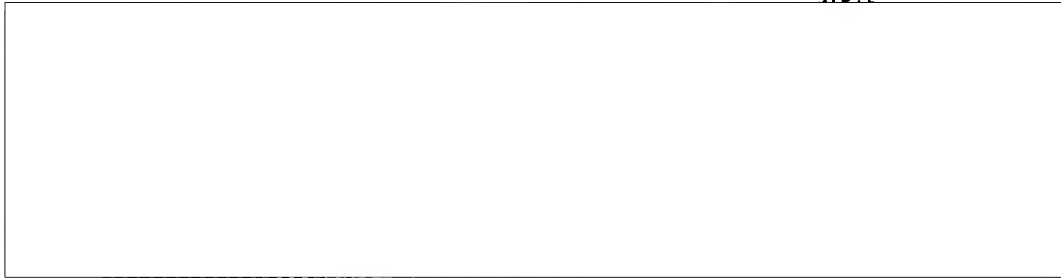


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 RUEHRH/USELO RIYADH 3879
 RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 1741
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EXDIS

E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: OVIP (CODEL MCHUGH), PREL, JO, US, IS, XF
 SUBJECT: CODEL MCHUGH: MEETING WITH KING HUSSEIN
 - JANUARY 7

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY. IN A ONE AND A HALF HOUR DISCUSSION WITH KING HUSSEIN BEFORE DINNER AT NADWA PALACE, THE CONGRESSMEN IN THE CODEL MCHUGH PARTY ALONG WITH FOREIGN OPERATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE PROFESSIONAL STAFFER ED POWERS AND AMBASSADOR VIETS EXCHANGED VIEWS ON A WIDE RANGE OF MIDDLE EAST ISSUES AFFECTING U.S.-JORDANIAN RELATIONS. HUSSEIN UNDERScoreD THAT THE MAIN CAUSE OF TURMOIL IN THE REGION IS THE FAILURE TO RESOLVE THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM. REGARDING LEBANON, THE KING SAID HE SEES LITTLE POSSIBILITY THAT LEBANON CAN CONTINUE AS A UNIFIED SOVEREIGN STATE. THE ABSENCE OF PROGRESS TOWARD A RESOLUTION OF THE LEBANESE PROBLEM HAS HARMED U.S. CREDIBILITY. THE MAY 17 AGREEMENT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND LEBANON WAS DOOMED TO FAIL BECAUSE SYRIA WAS NOT INCLUDED IN ITS NEGOTIATION. THE KING EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER THE FUTURE OF THE 300 THOUSAND PALESTINIANS IN LEBANON WHO WOULD HAVE NO PLACE TO GO IF THE COUNTRY IS

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PARTITIONED. THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR IS A "DISASTER." IF IRAQ FALLS, ALL OF THE MODERATE COUNTRIES IN THE REGION WILL BE AFFECTED. IT IS IMPORTANT TO HELP IRAQ. THE KING DESCRIBED HIS EFFORTS TO RE-ESTABLISH A DIALOGUE WITH THE PLO AND SAID HE IS CURRENTLY TRYING TO DETERMINE THE FRAMEWORK FOR A FUTURE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN JORDAN AND THE PLO/PALESTINIANS. WITHOUT CLEAR PALESTINIAN SUPPORT, HUSSEIN SAID HIS EFFORTS TO NEGOTIATE A SETTLEMENT WITH ISRAEL WOULD FAIL. JORDAN'S RELATIONS WITH SYRIA ARE "STRAINED." ON JLP, HUSSEIN SAID PUBLIC DISCUSSION OF THIS SUBJECT COULD BE BENEFICIAL IF IT SHOWS THAT THE U.S. AND JORDAN HAVE THE POTENTIAL TO ACT; HOWEVER, IT WOULD BE VERY HARMFUL IF THE JLP IS SEEN AS A U.S. EFFORT TO USE JORDAN AS A SURROGATE. THE CODEL STATED THAT JORDAN, AND THE KING PERSONALLY, ARE HIGHLY REGARDED IN THE U.S. CONGRESS AND THAT THE U.S. ATTACHES SPECIAL IMPORTANCE TO ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH JORDAN. HUSSEIN, IN TURN, EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR CONGRESSMEN'S REMARKS BUT STATED THAT JORDAN NEEDS TANGIBLE SUPPORT NOW. END SUMMARY.

3. THE HIGHLIGHT OF CODEL MCHUGH'S TWO- AND ONE-HALF DAY VISIT TO JORDAN WAS A DINNER HOSTED BY KING HUSSEIN AND QUEEN NOOR FOR THE CONGRESSMEN AND THEIR WIVES ON THE EVENING OF JANUARY 7. ED POWERS OF THE HAC SUBCOMMITTEE ON FOREIGN OPERATIONS PROFESSIONAL STAFF AND AMBASSADOR AND MRS. VIETS ALSO ATTENDED. PRIOR TO DINNER, KING HUSSEIN MET ALONE WITH THE CONGRESSMEN, POWERS, AND AMBASSADOR VIETS. MAIN POINTS OF THIS CONVERSATION, WHICH LASTED AN HOUR AND A HALF, ARE REPORTED BELOW.

LEBANON AND THE PEACE PROCESS

4. IN HIS OPENING REMARKS, HUSSEIN STRESSED THAT THE ROOT CAUSE OF THE TURMOIL IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS THE FAILURE TO RESOLVE THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM. LACK OF PROGRESS TOWARDS RESOLUTION OF THIS PROBLEM, ALONG WITH THE RECENT TRAGIC EVENTS IN LEBANON, ARE LEADING TO THE POSSIBILITY OF GREATER SOVIET INVOLVEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST. WITH REGARD TO LEBANON, THE KING SAID, HE HAD BEEN HOPEFUL UNTIL RECENTLY THAT THE PROBLEM OF LEBANON COULD BE RESOLVED; NOW HE SEES LITTLE POSSIBILITY THAT LEBANON CAN CONTINUE AS A UNI-

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FIED SOVEREIGN STATE. PARTITION SEEMS TO BE A GROWING INEVITABILITY. THE KING SAID HE HAD EARLIER THOUGHT THE U.S. WOULD AND COULD DEAL WITH THE ISSUES OF LEBANON AND THE PEACE PROCESS FAIRLY. BUT TIME HAS PASSED AND LITTLE PROGRESS HAS BEEN RECORDED. U.S. ABILITY TO ACHIEVE PROGRESS IN LEBANON HAS BEEN VIEWED AS A TEST OF AMERICAN CREDIBILITY, AND THE ABSENCE OF PROGRESS HAS HARMED THE U.S.

5. THE MAY 17 AGREEMENT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND LEBANON, THE KING SAID, WAS UNFORTUNATELY PRESENTED TO SYRIA AND LEBANON'S FACTIONS AS A

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"TAKE IT OR LEAVE IT" PROPOSITION. FROM THE OUTSET IT WAS DOOMED TO FAIL BECAUSE SYRIA WAS LEFT OUT OF ITS NEGOTIATION. THIS COULD HAVE BEEN EASILY FORESEEN. THE SITUATION HAS BEEN MADE WORSE BY THE POOR RELATIONS BETWEEN THE U.S. AND THE SOVIET UNION. THE DETERIORATION ON THE GROUND WITH ONE SUPER POWER SUPPORTING ISRAEL AND THE OTHER SUPPORTING SYRIA HAS BEEN A NATURAL RESULT OF THE BAD RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SUPER POWERS. PARTITION OF LEBANON IS NOW ALMOST A REALITY AND "I CANNOT SEE HOW IT IS GOING TO WORK OUT." INDICATING THAT THE LEBANON PROBLEM IS AFFECTING JORDAN AS WELL AS THOSE IMMEDIATELY PARTY TO THE ISSUE, HUSSEIN NOTED THAT ONE OF THE CRITICAL PROBLEMS STEMMING FROM LEBANON'S TURMOIL IS THE UNCERTAIN FUTURE OF THE 300,000 PALESTINIANS IN THAT COUNTRY. IN A PARTITIONED LEBANON, HE SAID, THOSE PEOPLE WILL HAVE NO PLACE. "WHERE WILL THEY GO?" JORDAN ITSELF HAS ALREADY RECEIVED 55,000.

IRAN-IRAQ WAR

6. THE KING OBSERVED THAT THE CONTINUATION OF THIS TRAGIC STRUGGLE IS A "DISASTER." "IRAN IS AN UNKNOWN QUANTITY" IN TERMS OF WHAT MAY HAPPEN, THE KING SAID. BUT IF IRAQ FALLS, SAUDI ARABIA, EGYPT AND ALL THE MODERATES WILL BE AFFECTED. IT IS IMPORTANT TO HELP IRAQ, AND JORDAN HAS BEEN DOING SO, THE KING STATED. HE POINTED OUT THAT JORDAN ALSO IS DISCUSSING THE POSSIBILITY OF CONSTRUCTING AN OIL PIPELINE THROUGH JORDAN TO AQABA FOR IRAQI USE. HE ALSO NOTED THAT A DIALOGUE BETWEEN IRAQ AND EGYPT HAS BEGUN AND CLOSER RELATIONS ARE IN THE OFFING.

NEXT STEPS IN THE PEACE PROCESS

7. THE KING EXPLAINED THE BACKGROUND AND CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH LED TO THE DESIGNATION OF THE PLO AS THE SOLE LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PALESTINIANS IN 1974. HE THEN REVIEWED HIS EFFORTS TO "PICK UP" AGAIN WITH THE PLO AND WORK TOGETHER WITH THEM. IN RECENT DISCUSSIONS, HE NOTED, HE HAD SOUGHT TO DETERMINE WHAT THE FUTURE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN JORDAN AND THE PLO/PALESTINIANS COULD BE. IN APRIL THESE ATTEMPTS HAD FAILED. THE KING THEN STATED WE ARE NOW SEEING THE RESULTS OF SYRIA'S EFFORT TO SEIZE CONTROL OF THE PLO. HE TOLD THE CONGRESSMEN JORDAN HAS WARNED THAT IF THE PLO FALLS UNDER SYRIAN DOMINATION IT WILL LOSE ITS LEGITIMACY. THE KING ALSO BEMOANED THE POLICY OF THE ARAB LEAGUE WHICH REQUIRES A DECISION BY CONSENSUS. HE SAID THAT POLICY NEEDS TO BE CHANGED. FINALLY, THE KING EXPLAINED THE BACK-

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GROUND TO HIS DECISION TO RECONVENE JORDAN'S PARLIAMENT AND THE AMENDMENT REQUIRED TO JORDAN'S CONSTITUTION TO PERMIT ELECTIONS IN THE EAST BANK ONLY. HUSSEIN EXPRESSED CLEAR SATISFACTION THAT THE MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT FROM THE

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WEST BANK WITH ONE EXCEPTION HAD BEEN ABLE TO COME TO AMMAN TO PARTICIPATE IN PARLIAMENT'S REOPENING WITHOUT ISRAELI OBSTRUCTION.

8. IN THE DISCUSSION WHICH FOLLOWED KING HUSSEIN'S INTRODUCTORY COMMENTS, CONGRESSMAN MCHUGH ASKED THE KING UNDER WHAT CONDITIONS HE WOULD JOIN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. THE KING SAID THE MAXIMUM EFFORT POSSIBLE SHOULD BE MADE TO FORMULATE A JORDANIAN-PALESTINIAN POSITION ON ISSUES AFFECTING THE PEACE PROCESS. THE KING STRESSED THAT WITHOUT CLEAR PALESTINIAN SUPPORT, HIS EFFORTS TO NEGOTIATE A SETTLEMENT WITH ISRAEL WOULD "LEAD NOWHERE." "BUT," HE EMPHASIZED, "WE WILL TRY AGAIN." HOWEVER, IF IT IS SETTLED THAT THE WEST BANK IS NOT PART OF ISRAEL, THEN THERE IS NOTHING TO DISCUSS IN NEGOTIATIONS. HUSSEIN ALSO COMMENTED THAT FROM JORDAN'S PERSPECTIVE "THE PROBLEM WITH CAMP DAVID WAS THAT (1) JORDAN WAS NOT INVOLVED IN ITS NEGOTIATION AND (2) IN THE END ISRAEL WAS "GIVEN A VETO OVER EVERYTHING."

9. CONGRESSMAN LEHMAN NOTED THAT JORDANIAN LEADERSHIP IS REASONABLE AND ENJOYS GOOD WILL IN THE UNITED STATES. IT WAS FOR THIS REASON THAT THIS CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION MADE JORDAN ITS ONLY STOP IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THIS SYMBOLIZES THE CRUCIAL ROLE WHICH THE U.S. ATTRIBUTES TO KING HUSSEIN AND JORDAN IN THE PEACE PROCESS.

10. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION FROM CONGRESSMAN PRITCHARD CONCERNING THE SYRIANS AND THEIR SOVIET SUPPORTERS, THE KING OBSERVED THAT JORDAN'S RELATIONS WITH SYRIA ARE "STRAINED." JORDAN SUPPORTED SYRIAN INTERVENTION IN LEBANON BECAUSE JORDAN BELIEVED IT WAS NEEDED IN 1976. HOWEVER, JORDAN NOW SUPPORTS THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES FROM LEBANON. ON THE SOVIETS, HUSSEIN SAID JORDAN HAS A CONTINUING DIALOGUE AND FRANK AND OPEN DISCUSSIONS WITH KREMLIN LEADERS. HE HAS TALKED TO ANDROPOV WHO WARNED THAT IF JORDAN TRIED TO NEGOTIATE A SETTLEMENT WITH ISRAEL, HUSSEIN WOULD NOT BE SUCCESSFUL BECAUSE OF PRESSURES THE USSR COULD AND WOULD BRING TO BEAR. CONGRESSMAN PRITCHARD ASKED HOW MUCH CONTROL THE SOVIETS HAVE OVER SYRIA. THE KING RESPONDED THEY CERTAINLY HAVE SOME BUT THE EXTENT OF IT IS VERY DIFFICULT TO DETERMINE.

11. CONGRESSMAN MCHUGH ASKED TO WHAT EXTENT PUBLIC DISCUSSION OF THE JLP WOULD BE A PROBLEM FOR JORDAN. THE KING RESPONDED THAT IT DEPENDS ON HOW THE PROGRAM IS PRESENTED. IT WOULD BE GOOD TO SHOW "OUR FRIENDS" THAT THE U.S. AND JORDAN HAVE THE PLANS AND PHYSICAL POTENTIAL TO ACT, THE KING SAID. HE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT JLP WAS NOT ENVISIONED AS SOMETHING NEW AND SEPARATE; IT HAS BEEN CONCEIVED AS A WAY TO FILL THE GAPS IN PLANS AND PROGRAMS JORDAN ALREADY HAS TO ASSIST ITS ARAB NEIGHBORS. HOWEVER, JLP WOULD BE VERY DAMAGING TO JORDAN IF IT IS SEEN AN EFFORT BY THE U.S. MERELY TO USE JORDAN AS A U.S. SURROGATE.

12. CONGRESSMAN MARRIOTT ASKED ABOUT NEXT STEPS

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WITH ARAFAT AND THE PLO. "FRANKLY," THE KING SAID, "I DON'T LOOK FORWARD TO MEETING WITH HIM AGAIN." THE PLO HAS NOW SPLIT --THE RADICALS ARE IN ONE CAMP AND THE MODERATES IN ANOTHER. THERE ARE SOME ENCOURAGING SIGNS; THE PLO IS REALIZING IT HAS NO REAL MILITARY OPTION AND NEEDS AN ALLY. NEVERTHELESS, HE CONCLUDED, "I CANNOT REALLY BE TOO OPTIMISTIC." ASKED BY CONGRESSMAN MCHUGH WHETHER ARAFAT STILL REALLY REPRESENTS THE PALESTINIANS, HUSSEIN RESPONDED THAT WILL DEPEND ON ARAFAT AND HOW HE PROCEEDS.

13. CONGRESSMAN MCHUGH SAID THAT JORDAN AND THE KING PERSONALLY ARE WELL REGARDED IN THE U.S. CONGRESS. THIS WAS EXPRESSED THROUGH THE INCREASE, A DOUBLING, IN FMS FROM FY 1983 TO FY 1984. ALSO THERE IS SOME HOPE JLP WILL BE FUNDED, ALTHOUGH THERE WILL BE DIFFICULTY OVER PROVIDING JORDAN WITH SOPHISTICATED WEAPONS. THE KING RESPONDED BY EXPRESSING APPRECIATION FOR CONGRESSMAN MCHUGH'S REMARKS BUT STATED THAT JORDAN NEEDS TANGIBLE SUPPORT NOW. THE SITUATION COULD DETERIORATE RAPIDLY IN THE FUTURE, AND HELP THEN WOULD BE TOO LATE. HE SAID THERE IS A REAL POSSIBILITY OF SYRIA MOVING AGAINST JORDAN; JORDAN HAS BEEN WARNED EXPLICITLY THAT IF IT TRIES TO NEGOTIATE WITH ISRAEL, IT WILL BE ATTACKED BY SYRIA. CONGRESSMAN MARRIOTT ASKED IF JORDAN IS NOT SUPPORTED BY THE U.S. (IN THE SALE OF ARMS), CAN JORDAN MOVE ELSEWHERE IF PRESSED? THE KING SAID JORDAN CANNOT MOVE WITHOUT U.S. SUPPORT.

14. BEIRUT AND KUWAIT MINIMIZES CONSIDERED.

VIETS
END OF MESSAGE

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